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LOUISE WOLF. Elisabeth Rowe in Deutschland. Ein Beitrag zur Literaturgeschichte des 18. Jahrhunderts. Heidelberg 1910.

Among English authors of the eighteenth century who exerted an influence on German literature a prominent place must be accorded to Elizabeth Singer-Rowe. Theodor Vetter has given an interesting account of this gifted woman in *Die göttliche Rowe* (Zürich, 1894), and attention is again directed to her in a recent dissertation by Louise Wolf. In this treatise the writer, after a brief introduction, takes up (A) Die Geschichte der Werke der E. Rowe (pp. 6-47); (B) Elisabeth Rowe in den moralischen Wochenschriften (pp. 48-61); and (C) Die Einwirkungen der Elisabeth Rowe auf die deutschen Dichter, (a) Klopstock, (b) Herder, (c) Wieland (pp. 61-80). In the concluding paragraphs the high regard in which Mrs. Rowe was held in her day is set forth, and her service to the German literature summed up.

The first chapter presents a comprehensive survey of the history of Mrs. Rowe's works in Germany, and contains numerous passages from the various translations and from reviews and notices found in the periodicals of that day. These selections are conclusive proof of Mrs. Rowe's popularity and influence in Germany. I noted a few inaccuracies and omissions, which I wish to amend.

The title under which Elizabeth Singer's first published work appeared (1696) is *Poems On Several Occasions. Written By Philomela*, not *Divine Hymns and Poems*, as stated on page 6. In justice to Mrs. Rowe it should be mentioned that not all the editions of her Letters conclude "in schriller Dissonanz" with the rhymed epistle from Amoret in hell to Corisca. The second edition of *Letters Moral and Entertaining, III*, published in 1734, the earliest to which I have access, does not contain this letter at all, and as this edition appeared only one year after the first it is reasonable to assume that the letter in question is a later addition. The fact that an edition published in Edinburgh, 1762, has after the letter to Corisca its counterpart, from one in heaven *To Cleone*, which was previously published in the *Misc. Works, I*, p. 72 f, adds probability to this view. Perhaps this also explains why Bertrand did not translate the letter to Corisca; if he had rejected this letter because of its ostensible origin, he should also have omitted the letter written by Palanty in hell to Lysander (*Letters M. and E., II, X*). No mention is made of a translation of Mrs. Rowe's epistolary works which is

reported to have appeared in Hanover in 1745. See Wilhelm Heinsius: *Allgemeines Bücher-Lexikon*, vol. 3, column 444. To the references on the history of *A Laplander's Song to his Mistress* (note 38) should be added Sauer's valuable note in his edition of Ewald von Kleist's works, Berlin, 1880, I, p. 107 f., and Frank Edgar Farley's article on *Three "Lapland Songs,"* Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn. 1906 (vol. XXI, 1).

The third chapter, which treats of Mrs. Rowe's influence on German poets, seems disproportionately short, for it is this aspect of Mrs. Rowe's work that first of all challenges our attention. The statement that it was Ebert who acquainted Klopstock with Mrs. Rowe (p. 61) seems to have been made without sufficient warrant; no authority is cited. We have Cramer's note saying Ebert "lehrte auch Klopstock die Engländer näher kennen," to be sure, but that is hardly specific enough here. The passages from Klopstock's early odes and letters in which he mentions Mrs. Rowe are cited, and traces of her influence in his works referred to as unmistakable. I have attempted to point out specific instances of this influence in the following pages.

Perhaps the most striking correspondences in these authors, passages in which the influence of Mrs. Rowe upon Klopstock seems most evident, are those in which their views about spirits are set forth. I use the general term because Klopstock does not clearly differentiate between angels, spirits of departed persons, and other celestials; the muse in *Friedensburg* (1. 29 ff.) has much in common with the guardian angels spoken of in *An des Dichters Freunde*, *Messias* and elsewhere.

The basic conception of these poets' system of spiritualism is that the interest and affection of those dear to each other on earth does not terminate with the death of one of them; "Curæ non ipsâ in Morte relinquunt. Virg." on the title-page of *Friendship in Death* makes this plain. In fact, the desire of the departed spirits to be of service to their surviving friends seems only heightened by their change of condition, as frequent protestations in the Letters set forth.¹ This interest manifests itself in diverse ways, varying with the needs of the persons affected and the natural proclivities of the departed themselves.

All of the *Letters from the Dead* were written for a purpose. In a number of them the departed counsel or admonish their friends and thus strive to influence their actions and direct their affections. Love, pure or illicit, figures largely in many of them.

¹"From this uncertainty (as to immortality) I was very solicitous to draw you while I was in a mortal state; but I have now a more ardent desire to convince you."—*Friendship in Death* I, p. 4. "I have more zeal than ever for your interest." Ibid. XII, p. 45.

In Letter XIII the departed lover writes to his sweetheart:

My concern for your happiness is more tender and disinterested than ever: I have guarded your nightly slumbers, waited on your solitary walks, and followed you like your attendant angel; who pleased with my officious care, has often left you to my charge. Your present danger gives me as much anxiety as consists with a state of happiness. I could not refrain from giving you this warning. . . . You are, O too credulous fair! on the very brink of ruin: treachery and delusion are in Alcander's eyes and tongue, and if you keep this night's appointment with him, you are undone.

Klopstock lays hold on this conception of spirit intervention, and, in a poetic manner which is far superior to Mrs. Rowe, turns it to account in his own behalf. Thus in *Petrarka und Laura* he pleads that one of the sainted dead descend¹ to soften the obdurate heart of the adored one.

Hast du mich weinen gesehn, o du Unsterblicher,
Der mitleidig mein Auge schloss;
O, so sammle sie ein, sammle die heiligen
Thränen in goldene Schalen ein,
Bring sie, Himmlischer! dann zu den Unsterblichen,
Denen zärtlich ihr Herz auch schlug:
Zu der göttlichen Rowe, oder zur Radikin,
Die im Frühlinge sanft entschlief:
Oder zu Doris hinauf, die noch ihr Haller weint,
Wenn er die jüngere Doris sieht,
Dass dann Eine vielleicht, hat sie mein Schmerz bewegt,
Aus den holden Versammlungen
Niedersteige, das Herz jener, die inniger
Mein unsterblicher Geist verlangt,
Zu erweichen, und sie zu den Empfindungen
Gleicher Zärtlichkeit einzuweihn!—Ll. 31-46.

Similarly in *An Sie* (1752):

Und doch kommst du! O dich, ja Engel senden,
Engel senden dich mir, die Menschen waren,
Gleich mir liebten, nun lieben
Wie ein Unsterblicher liebt.—Ll. 5-8.

Elsewhere (in *Salem*, written in 1748) this function is attributed to the seraph Salem, characterized by the poet as "der Engel der Lieb' und mein Schutzgeist."

In Mrs. Rowe's first series of letters, *Friendship and Death*, the departed evincing an interest in their friends on earth are uniformly among the number of the blessed, or, in the words of her characters: "Happy minds in this superior state are still concerned for the welfare of mortals, and make a thousand kind visits to their friends" (I, p. 5); and "My dear Sister, though the engagements of nature are cancelled, the superior obligations of virtue remain in their full force" (VI, p. 20). But Muncker is in error when he says, in speak-

¹ In the *Divine Comedy* Beatrice thus appears to Dante, saying:

Beatrice am I, who do bid thee go;
I come from there, where I would fain return;
Love moved me, which compelleth me to speak.—Inferno II, Longfellow's translation.

ing of Meta Klopstock's seventh letter of *Briefe von Verstorbenen an Lebendige* (published 1759): "Neu ist bei Meta der Gedanke, auch einen Verdammten aus der Hölle an seinen noch lebenden Freund schreiben zu lassen" (*Klopstock*, p. 320).¹

In one instance Klopstock's treatment of this motive is quite different from the preceding. In *Messias* III; 556-7, 576 ff. Satan, hovering over the sleeping Judas Iscariot, causes the sleeper to have a vision of his father, who claims to have come from the realm of the shades to aid his son. Appealing to the latter's avarice and ambition, the phantom spirit advises him to pretend that he would betray his Master, so that Christ would be forced to reveal his might and speedily establish his kingdom. By that means Judas would the sooner come into his portion of this kingdom. The central idea underlying this vision is that the father, though in the realm of the shades, has not become indifferent to his son's welfare, and that was probably suggested by Mrs. Rowe.

A further development of this conception of departed spirits influencing their friends is found in *Die Königin Luise*, where the queen's spirit says to the angel that had conducted her into God's presence (ll. 77-84):

Kehrst du dorthin zurück, wo du des Landes Schicksal,
Und meines Königs Schicksal, lenkst;
So folg ich dir. Ich will sanft um dich schweben,
Mit dir, sein Schutzgeist seyn!
Wenn du unsichtbar dich den Einsamkeiten nahest,
Wo er um meinen Tod noch klagt;
So tröst ich seinen Schmerz mit dir! so lispl' ich
Ihm auch Gedanken zu!

We have here another instance of the poetic refinement with which Klopstock presents some of the ideas found in the half sentimental, half personal writings of Mrs. Rowe.

It seems very probable that Klopstock also found the first suggestion for his elaborate guardian angel cult in Mrs. Rowe's Letters. It has been shown that she conceived of souls in the beyond as being greatly interested in their friends on earth and as accompanying and serving as substitutes for regularly appointed guardian angels.

This same function of conducting the newly released soul to God is repeatedly ascribed to guardian angels by Klopstock. Thus in *Die Königin Luise* (ll. 49, 50):

Da liebt im Tode sie, und schön des Seraphs Auge,
Der sie zum Unerschaffnen führt.

¹ Miss Wolf calls attention to this mistake in Muncker, but does not speak of the above letter from Palanty, which is found in all editions of *Letters Moral and Entertaining* accessible to me; she merely cites the rhymed epistle from Amoret.

Similarly in *Messias* III, 139-141, where the angel Orion speaking to Selia says, that he has often wished himself of Adam's race and mortal, as man is. He would then be glad to lay down his life for the Redeemer and

Alsdann solltest du, Selia, mir, oder einer von diesen
Sanft mit unsichtbarer Hand die gebrochenen Augen zudrücken,
Und die entfliehende Seele zum Thron des Ewigen führen.

Another rather striking correspondence in their treatment of this theme is that both poets portray the guardian angel as ready to abandon his charge, when this one is sorely tempted or has shown willingness to sin.¹

This is paralleled in the *Messias* III, 11. 458 ff., where Ithuriel, the guardian angel of Iscariot, says of him:

Selia, du zwingst mich, ich muss dir alles entdecken,
Was ich so gern vor mir selbst, vor dir, und den Engeln verbärge.
Jesus liebt den Unwürdigen noch. Voll sorgsamer Liebe,
Zwar mit Worten nicht, aber mit Blicken der göttlichsten Freundschaft
Sagt er ihm jüngst, bey einem zufriednen vertraulichen Mahle,
Vor der Versammlung der Jünger, er sey es, er werd ihn verrathen.

Selia, siehe, da kömmt er herauf. Ich will den Verruchten
Ferner nicht sehn, komm mit mir.

In *Messias* IV, 11. 1001 f., the same angel in speaking to Jesus expresses his intention in unequivocal terms:

. . . . Ich verlasse den Sünder!
Bin sein Engel nicht mehr!²

whereupon he is assigned to Simon Peter as a second guardian.

But Klopstock does not stop here. He conceives of a transfer of guardian angels, determined not by these celestials themselves, as in the case above, but by the persons whom they have served and inspired, as appears from l. 96 ff. of *An des Dichters Freunde*, where he says to Gieseke:

Dann soll mein Schutzgeist
. . . . dein Schutzgeist werden.

Other passages reveal a somewhat different situation: the spirit of a person departing this life remains about the sur-

¹ Such a course on the part of the celestial guardian is referred to as an eventuality in the sixteenth of *Letters Moral and Entertaining*, II, where the writer after describing the worldly character of her early training goes on to say: "However, my guardian angel did not quit his charge; but by the impression of a virtuous love fortified my soul from every loose inclination: I fled diversions, grew fond of retirement; this soon gave me a habit of thinking: and if I had schemes of happiness, they were all in some future life."

² See Hamel's note, in which that editor attributes this passage to a suggestion from Young. As Cantos IV and V of *Der Messias* were completed in January 1751, and Ebert's translation of *Night Thoughts* appeared in the course of that year, it seems more plausible that both Klopstock and Young, to whom *Friendship in Death* was dedicated, drew from Mrs. Rowe.

viving friends as his "Genius" or "Schutzengel." Thus in *An Bodmer*, l. 19 f.:

Auch dich werd' ich nicht sehn, wie du dein Leben lebst,
Werd' ich einst nicht dein Genius;

in the passage from *Die Königin Luise* cited on page 17; in the ode *An Young*, l. 13 ff.:

Stirb! du hast mich gelehrt, dass mir der Name Tod,
Wie der Jubel ertönt, den ein Gerechter singt:
Aber bleibe mein Lehrer,
Stirb, und werde mein Genius!

And finally, in taking leave of Meta on the verge of death Klopstock said in parting, "Sei mein Schutzengel, wenn es unser Gott zulässt!" to which the devoted wife replied, "Du bist der meinige gewesen." This touching scene is beautifully depicted in canto XV of *Der Messias*, ll. 419 ff. We have in these passages Klopstock's poetic elaboration of the situation which Mrs. Rowe described in Letter XIII (cited on page 453), and a typical instance of his talent in transforming a rather bare fundamental idea into a poetic conception of rare beauty by infusing into it elements of personal feeling and aspiration.

As those who have crossed over into the regions of the blessed retain their interest in the friends surviving, it is but natural that they should be the first to welcome the spirits of these as they, in turn, enter their heavenly home. Both authors speak of such meetings. In a letter to her friend the Countess of Hertford, which was to be delivered upon the author's death, Mrs. Rowe says: "Mine, perhaps, may be the first glad spirit to congratulate your safe arrival on the happy shores."¹ And she has one of her characters report (in the second Letter from the Dead, p. 7):

The first gentle spirit that welcomed me to these new regions was the lovely Almeria; but how dazzling! how divinely fair! ecstasy was in her eyes, and inexpressible pleasure in every smile! . . . My Almeria is as much superior to her former self here, as I thought her superior to the rest of her sex upon earth.²

In like manner Klopstock hopes to greet Fanny on her arrival in the bright beyond.

Wenn dann du dastehst jugendlich auferweckt,
Dann eil' ich zu dir!³ säume nicht, bis mich erst
Ein Seraph bey der Rechten fasse,
Und mich, Unsterblicher, zu dir führe.

¹ Mrs. Rowe's Works, I, p. xlii.

² Thomas Rowe expresses the hope that he will thus welcome the departing soul of his wife in *An Ode. To Delia* (Mrs. Rowe's Works, II, p. 302); and Mrs. Rowe's poem *To Cleone* (Works I. p. 71 f.), with which Klopstock was probably not familiar, also presents a situation paralleling the above.

³ It is very interesting to note that this connection also appealed strongly to Goethe, who again gave it poetic expression in *Die Leiden des*

Dann soll dein Bruder, innig von mir umarmt,
Zu dir auch eilen! dann will ich thränenvoll,
Voll froher Thränen jenes Lebens
Neben dir stehn, dich mit Namen nennen,
Und dich umarmen! Dann, o Unsterblichkeit,
Gehörst du ganz uns! Kommt, die das Lied nicht singt,
Kommt, unaussprechlich süsse Freuden — *An Fanny*, l. 29 ff.

Religious writers of all ages have been pleased to busy their fancies in conjectures regarding the manner in which the saints above occupy themselves. Mrs. Rowe makes an interesting contribution toward the solution of this problem, and Klopstock and others are quick to follow her lead. In the fifth of the *Letters from the Dead* the writer tells of a tour of the skies that he is making, and describes one of the worlds which he has visited.

For the description of such a world in *Messias* V, 153 ff., Klopstock is probably indebted to Mrs. Rowe,¹ as Muncker (p. 200) and Vetter p. 18) have pointed out; that would not preclude the additional influence of Young, which Hamel detects. This matter is again taken up in several later Letters of Mrs. Rowe, thus in Letter XV the writer, who had perished at sea, relates his experiences. He first "made the round of the liquid regions" and was then conducted through the skies. He writes:

I made the tour of the universe, and explored the limits of the creation with unspeakable agility: I moved from star to star and met ten thousand suns blazing in full glory without fear and consternation: I followed the track of prodigious comets that drew their trains over half the sky. From the planetary regions I ascended with the ease and swiftness of a thought to the superior heaven, the imperial palace of the Most High; but here description fails, and all beyond is unutterable.

Klopstock follows these models quite closely. In *Die Ge-*

jungen Werthers. In his farewell letter to Lotte (Weimar ed. XIX, p. 180) Werther writes: "Du bist von diesem Augenblicke mein! mein, o Lotte! Ich gehe voran! gehe zu meinem Vater, zu deinem Vater. Dem will ich's klagen, und er wird mich trösten bis du kommst, und ich fliege dir entgegen und fasse dich und bleibe bei dir vor dem Angesichte des Unendlichen in ewigen Umarmungen." Dr. Otto Lyon has already pointed out Klopstock's influence on Goethe in this particular, as well as in the general conception of love set forth in *Werthers Leiden*, in his illuminating monograph, *Goethes Verhältnis zu Klopstock* (p. 98 f.).

¹ Bodmer also adopts this conception of Mrs. Rowe and uses it with various modifications in *Der Noah* (1752). Thus in Canto XII (l. 120, ff.) he speaks of one of the works in the milky way as peopled by innocent human beings; and in Canto X he has angels bear the souls of young children that had perished in the flood "in lichte Zonen der Sonne.

Sie zum Erkenntnis der Schöpfung da unterrichtend zu bilden" (l. 116 f.), whereas the souls of the sinners cut off in their prime are condemned to lie dormant until judgment day on a deserted moon on the outermost confines of this solar system (ll. 90 ff; 549 ff.).

Young also describes a sinless world in Canto IX of his *Night Thoughts*.

nesung (written in 1754) he speaks of the journey which he would at that time be taking, had it not been for his recovery, the gift of God.

Zwar wär auch ich dahin gewallet,
Wo Erden wandeln um Sonnen,
Hätte die Bahn betreten, auf der der beschweifte Komet
Sich selbst dem doppelten Auge verliert;
Hätte mit dem ersten entzückenden Grusse
Die Bewohner begrüßt der Erden und der Sonnen,
Gegrüßt des hohen Kometen
Zahllose Bevölkerung.

This passage also presents several other points of interest. Klopstock here assumes that the heavenly bodies are inhabited by rational beings. This view, too, he found in Mrs. Rowe,¹ in Letter V for instance: "Before man was formed of the ground . . . the unlimited Creator had made and peopled millions of glorious worlds"; in Letter II, where the writer refers to the morning star as "our destined habitation"; and in a poem *On Heaven* (Works I, p. 53) Mrs. Rowe sings:

Ye starry mansions, hail! my native skies!
Here in my happy, pre-existent state,
(A spotless mind) I led the life of gods.
But passing, I salute you, and advance
To yonder brighter realm's allowed access.

Likewise in Klopstock the heavenly bodies serve as habitations for these three orders of beings: those regularly inhabiting a given planet, the departed spirits of human beings, and the souls of earthly denizens before their birth or incarnation. References to the first order are found in *Messias* II, 841-846, 852 ff.; *ibid.* V, 66 ff.; in stanza 2 of *Wissbegierde* (1799):

Dort in den Welten thun den Bewohnenden
Viel Geistesführer weiter die Schöpfung auf,
Viel Sinne. Reicher, schöner Kenntniss
Freuen sie droben sich, Gott vernehmend.

and in *Das grosse Hallelujah* (1766) l. 17 ff.:

Ehre dem Wunderbaren,
Der unzählbare Welten in den Ozean der Unendlichkeit aussäte!
Und sie füllte mit Heerscharen Unsterblicher,
Dass Ihn sie liebten, und selig wären durch Ihn!

A passage of like purport is found in the *Psalm* (1789), and in *Die höheren Stufen* (1802), Klopstock's last ode.

And that the planets are the "destined habitation" of the redeemed of earth, at least for a time, Klopstock sets forth in

¹ I am aware that others, notably Leibniz in his *Théodicée* (La Cause de Dieu, § 58) and Fontenelle in his *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes* (Troisième soir) had advanced such a hypothesis. We also have evidence that Klopstock had read the *Théodicée* while in Leipzig, and had been very much engrossed in it; yet there is a great difference between the philosophical treatment of this concept and the poetical. Lessing's skit *Die Planetenbewohner* (1748) presents another point of view.

Die Verwandelten (1782), where he expresses the hope of meeting Meta on one of the satellites comprising the ring of Saturn. And finally, in *Messias* III, 302 f., mention is made of "Gefilde . . . wo die Seelen der Menschen vor des Leibes Geburt . . . schweben."

The last two odes mentioned, *Die Verwandelten* and *Die höheren Stufen*, present another fine example of Klopstock's ability to amplify and enrich a given poetic conception. In the Letters the grand tour of the universe seems intended primarily to entertain and to gratify the curiosity of the newly released spirits, or at most to inure them to the ultimate splendors in store for them and to give them a fitting realization of their blissful state; but in the odes the changes of habitat mark successive stages in the growth and development of the soul and in its approach to God.¹

To the mistakes regarding Mrs. Rowe's identity cited on p. 62 and in note 45 of Miss Wolf's monograph I wish to add the grave misapprehension, under which Julian Schmidt was laboring. In the first volume (p. 237) of his *Geschichte der deutschen Litteratur von Leibniz bis auf unsere Zeit* (1886) this author says very convincingly:

Schon in der *Göttlichen Komödie* spielt Beatrice, die Geliebte des Dichters, eine wichtige Rolle; halb Muse, halb Heilige, erhob sie als das Ewig Weibliche den Dichter über das gemein Irdische hinaus zum Himmel. Dies anbetende Gefühl vor dem Weiblichen hatte Petrarca über Europa verbreitet; neuere englische Dichter, namentlich Rowe, stimmten den gleichen Ton an. In diese Dichtungen der Liebe hatte Klopstock sich schon zeitig vertieft, er stimmte seine Seele, um die richtige Tonlage für das Erhabene zu finden, in Moll. . . . Sie zu nennen, sucht er unter den berühmten Heroinnen nach einem Namen, z. B. Laura; er bleibt endlich bei "Fanny" stehen: *es war der Name, mit welchem der zärtliche Rowe seine Geliebte besungen hatte.*

Here are two palpable errors. In the first place, "der zärtliche Rowe" referred to here is not the Rowe whose works Klopstock knew;² neither was it a Rowe from whom Klopstock got the name "Fanny." Thomas Rowe, the husband of our Singer-Rowe, wrote *An Ode. To Delia* to his wife

¹ Wieland adopts a similar treatment, and has the inhabitants of his sinless world translated to higher realms (*Gesicht von einer Welt unschuldiger Menschen*; also Bodmer).

² This characterization does not apply to Nicholas Rowe (1674-1718) either. His fame rests chiefly on his dramatic works; Wieland drew largely upon N. Rowe's *Lady Jane Gray* for his *Lady Johanna Gray* (1758), as Lessing pointed out.

(referred to on page 456), but it in no wise answers the description above, and Klopstock probably saw it. It was published in *Mrs. Rowe's Miscellaneous Works*, II, p. 297 ff. in 1739. The name "Fanny" Klopstock took from Fielding's novel *Joseph Andrews*, as Muncker has pointed out (Klopstock, p. 200). Although Klopstock generally referred to Mrs. Rowe by her maiden name, Singer, there is at least one passage in his odes that leaves no doubt as to the sex of the Rowe who influenced him so largely at this time, line 37 of *Petrarka und Laura*: "Zu der göttlichen Rowe, oder zur Radikin"; and we are forced to conclude that the important rôle which 'das Weibliche' played in this instance is of a somewhat different character from that assigned to it by this noted historian of German literature.

Mrs. Rowe's influence on Wieland's works is treated more in detail by Miss Wolf than in the case of Klopstock, and many passages in which Wieland speaks of her and acknowledges his indebtedness are cited. To these should be added a number from his *Abhandlung von den Schönheiten des epischen Gedichts "Der Noah"* (1753).

Nie habe ich Vorstellungen vom Tode gelesen, die bloss Menschen zu Verfassern haben, welche mich angenehmer gerührt hätten, so sehr mich Platons *Phädon* und einige von den Briefen der vortrefflichen Rowe gerührt haben.—Hempel's edition, vol. 40, p. 423.

Wie viel gründlicher und anständiger sind diese Ideen von der Seligkeit als die Myrtengebüsche, ambrosialischen Lauben und kristallinen Paläste der Frau Rowe, welche ich jedoch durch diese Vergleichung nicht schlechterdings getadelt haben will.—Ibid. p. 424.

Inzwischen werde ich doch alle auf meiner Seite haben, die den Planeten der Frau Rowe für möglich halten, dessen Einwohner in einem Augenblick kristallne Paläste auführen oder eine öde Gegend in ein Elysien verwandeln können.—Ibid. p. 444.

He also mentions her in his *Ankündigung einer Dunciade*:

Aber sie (die 'weiblichen Skribenten' Deutschlands) werden mir erlauben, ihnen zu sagen, wenn sie sich erinnert hätten, dass es nur einer Lambert, einer Rowe, einer Graffigny zukomme, ihrem Geschlecht durch Schriften Ehre zu machen, sie ohne Zweifel würden Bedenken getragen haben, sich den eilfertigen Geburten ihres Witzes, ehe sie zur gehörigen Reife gekommen, vor den Augen der Welt zu entladen.—Ibid. p. 578.

Bodmer, also, mentions Mrs. Rowe occasionally. In his *Briefe über Joseph und Zuleika* (1754, p. 129) he says: "Die ernstesten Moralisten warnen vor dieser Gefahr . . . Siehe den V. Brief der ergötzenden Briefe der Mrs. Rowe." In another instance he is manifestly unfair to the English poet. He says in the sixth letter of *Edward Grandisons Geschichte in Görlitz*: "Die Briefe der Abgestorbenen (Wieland's) haben mit den Briefen welche die Frau Rowe unter diesem Titel geschrieben hat, nichts gemein, als den leeren Einfall, Briefe von den Gestorbenen zu dichten." Lessing, on the contrary, pointed out that they had much in common with the

earlier work (Lachmann-Muncker: *Lessings sämtliche Schriften* V, p. 220, f.); and Zachariae's observation: "Die unsterbliche Rowe singt aus dem fühlenden Wieland"¹ *Tageszeiten*, second edition, 1752, Der Mittag, l. 63, is quite applicable here, too. I shall call attention to several instances of this.

Naturally enough Wieland accepts the view that death does not allay the interest of the departed in their surviving friends, that conception being a *sine qua non* in this sort of compositions. His

Die erhabene Freundschaft, die uns auf Erden verbunden,
Hat mein Tod noch erhöht (I. Brief, 1 f.)

and

Von Eigennutz ferne
Suchen wir nur das Wohl der Geliebten (II. Brief, 312 f.)

and

Fürchte nicht dass der Tod die zärtlichen Bande zerreisse,
Welche die Sympathie, unauflöslich, zwo Seelen zu binden
Selber gewebt; o Laura, noch mehr als ich dich geliebet,
Lieb ich dich izt (III. Brief, 17 ff.)

are but variants of

My affection to the fair Climene is unchanged . . . My concern for your happiness is more tender and disinterested than ever (Letter XII).

and other passages to that effect.

Another situation repeatedly referred to by both authors is a visit from the departed spirit to his living friend. Wieland's version is:

Aber Narcissa, . . . hat schon ihre Lucinde vergessen,
Ihre Lucinde, die sich seraphischen Armen entreisset
Um sie zu sein, und sie oft in die stolzen Gärten begleitet, (II. Brief 9 ff.)

and

O Panthea, dich zu verlieren
Dieses allein verbitterte mir die Wollust des Todes;
Und ich verlor dich nicht. Die Sphäre, die ich bewohne
Schliesst mich nicht ein . . .
Die sympathetische Liebe
Zieht mich oftmals zu dir; dann seh ich dein englisches Lächeln
Ich und dein Schutzgeist, wir sehen dich oft, wenn du einsam
. . . die teure Cleora beweintest. (V. Brief).

This tallies closely with a part of Letter VIII:

The wounds I received gave a free passage to my soul, which took its flight with no other regret but that of parting with you, if it may be called a separation, for I have been your constant attendant in my invisible state, your unseen companion . . . I should with pleasure hear you repeat my name, as I often do, in the softest lan-

¹ For this and several other references to Mrs. Rowe I am indebted to Prof. J. A. Walz.

guage express the constancy of a virtuous passion, could you restrain those floods of tears, and be more resigned to the will of heaven.

The last lines from Wieland also indicate that a close fellowship exists between the guardian angel and the departed friend of a person, who are drawn together by their common interest in the one for whose happiness and eternal welfare they are concerned. Several passages of like purport have already been cited from the works of Mrs. Rowe and of Klopstock; another is the conclusion of Letter XI: "In this admonition your guardian angel joins with Alexis."

Wieland's treatment of the guardian angel motive coincides with that of Mrs. Rowe in many respects. Guardian angels conduct departing souls to their celestial homes (I., V., IX. Brief); on weeping lutes they lament the fall of innocence and the perversity of immortal souls (*Symphathien*, I², 459, 15 and 468, 32-36; cp. Letter XIII, quoted on p. 5). There is also a case of the guardian leaving his charges, quite unlike that spoken of in Mrs. Rowe however, and suggestive of the Wieland of a later period. In *Zelim und Gulhindy*, 544 ff., Firnaz says to the reunited lovers:

Izt, meine Kinder,
Verlass ich euch, die Liebe wird euch nun
Der Schutzgeist sein, der ich bisher gewesen.

In *Symphathien* (I², 455, 27 ff.) Wieland takes account of the doctrine of a dual spirit world and assigns to each soul two genii, one urging it on to good, the other trying to trick it into evil. For this, too, he found a precedent in Mrs. Rowe. In Letter XIII the writer says:

The evil genii, that envy the happiness of the human race, already insult my pious care; and your celestial guardian seems half resolved to quit his trust.

In other places specifically Klopstockian influence is discernible.

Turning now to the famous sinless world depicted with such eloquence by Mrs. Rowe in Letter V, we find that Wieland made repeated use of this conception, elaborating it enormously. In his First Letter (324 ff.) he speaks of our earth as

die einzige Welt, die wider Gott sich empöret,
Da unzählbare Sphären die erste Schönheit bewahrten,
Voll von seligen Geistern,

and in the Ninth he gives quite a detailed portrayal of such a blissful world, free from sin. In the light of his subsequent writings additional interest attaches to young Wieland's treatment of this subject, to the evident fondness with which he lingers over details such as

Blühende Mädchen, allein mit eigner natürlicher Anmut
Und dem höhern Preis der weissen Unschuld geschmücket

Und nur mit ihren Locken bekleidet. Mit den Rosenarmen
An einander geschlungen, umgibt der reizende Zirkel
Einen erhabnen Jüngling (I. 99 ff.)

Sie war grösser und von stärkerer Leibesbeschaffenheit als die weichen Töchter unsrer Erde zu sein pflegen. Die frische Blume ihrer Schönheit zeigte Unsterblichkeit an. Zween Säuglinge, schön wie die Liebe, lagen an ihrer schneeweissen Brust, in der ein Herz von unbefleckter Unschuld schlug. Sie sogen mit der gesunden nährenden Milch fromme Empfindungen und harmonische Triebe ein, die sich künftig zu eben so viel Tugenden entfalten sollten.—*Gesicht von einer Welt unschuldiger Menschen*, I², p. 413, 1, 2 ff.

In the work from which I have just quoted (written in 1755) Wieland again takes up this subject and presents a number of variations from former treatments. His active fancy fairly revels in rhapsodic details concerning this millennial state. Here leopard and lamb graze peacefully side by side; there is no need of land surveys or laws to secure property rights; when truth and goodness, like startled doves, left our perverted world, they took up their abode among this innocent people, who had remained true to nature. Death does not enter here, people are simply transformed and translated to the Empyreum. All this is rather foreign to Mrs. Rowe's account, nevertheless her influence on this composition may be readily detected. For example, the introductory lines:

Mitten unter tausend Welten, die der Güte ihres Schöpfers voll sind,
glänzet eine glückliche Erde in sanfter Schönheit, so blühend und schön,
wie damals, da sie erschaffen wurde ein Paradies unschuldiger Menschen
zu sein, welche in der Versuchung, der wir unterlagen,
standhaft aushielten, und die Güte ihrer Natur unbefleckt bewahrten.

closely parallel:

the unlimited Creator had made and peopled millions of glorious worlds. The inhabitants of this which I am describing stood their probation, and are confirmed in their original rectitude.

Seraphim, to the accompaniment of golden lutes, conduct the departing parents of the innocent race to heaven (p. 409, 10ff.), which suggests Letter VII, where "smiles and songs of angels, who conducted me to the ethereal heights" and a welcoming friend "with a golden lute in his hand" are mentioned. And Wieland's: "Aber die schönen Künste haben sie auf einen so hohen Grad getrieben, dass die Werke unsrer grössten Meister nur Versuche gegen sie sind" merely sums up in a general way more specific statements of Letter V, as: "These ethereals are the nicest judges of symmetry and proportion"; "they are acquainted with all the utmost mysteries of sound"; "art is theirs in all its changing notes, its blandishments and graces."

In comparing Wieland's Letters with those of Mrs. Rowe, one is at once struck by their extreme wordiness and prolixity. Slight details, merely touched upon by the Englishwoman, Wieland amplifies and distends to monstrous proportions.

These he supplements with inventions of his own; in the *Gesicht von einer Welt unschuldiger Menschen* he specifies that the inhabitants of this happy realm are vegetarians and wear cotton garments, and this despite the fact that one of their chief occupations is stock raising. This practice, and the desire to provide edification and information, which is frequently gratified in tedious digressions account for the extreme length of his Letters, of which Lessing said in his review: "Wem diese Briefe selbst ein wenig zu lang vorkommen sollten, der mag überlegen, dass die Gelegenheiten aus jenem in dieses Leben jetzt sehr rar sind, und man also den Mangel des öftern Schreibens durch das viel Schreiben ersetzen muss."—Lachmann-Muncker: *Lessings sämtliche Schriften* V, p. 220, f.

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JULIUS HARTMANN, Das Verhältnis von Hans Sachs zur sogenannten Steinhöwelschen Decameronübersetzung. *Acta Germanica*. Organ für deutsche Philologie, herausgegeben von Rudolf Henning. Neue Reihe, Heft 2. Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 1912.

Der Einfluss der italienischen Literatur durch Dante, Petrarca und ganz besonders durch Boccaccio auf die übrigen Literaturen Europas während des 15. u. 16. Jahrhunderts ist längst von den Literaturhistorikern anerkannt worden. Nach Schmidt in seinen 'Beiträgen zur Geschichte der romantischen Schule in Deutschland,' 1818, hat Goedeke, der genaue Kenner des 16. Jahrhunderts, in seinem Grundriss zur Geschichte der deutschen Dichtung diesem Einflusse Italiens ganz besondere Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt. Von neueren Forschern ist es in erster Linie Konrad Burdach, der begeisterte Förderer der von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Berlin eingesetzten Deutschen Kommission, welcher in seinen epochemachenden Arbeiten zur deutschen Bildungsgeschichte (Vom Mittelalter bis zur Reformation, Die Einigung der neuhochdeutschen Schriftsprache, Generalbericht der Deutschen Kommission etc.) dasselbe Thema unter verschiedenen Titeln und von verschiedenen Gesichtspunkten aus immer wieder aufs neue behandelt.

Deutschland wird von Italien aus nicht nur auf dem Gebiete der Spracheinigung und Sprachreinigung stark beeinflusst, Italien ist nicht nur vorbildlich für Deutschland betreffs der Ausbildung einer Schriftsprache im modernen Sinne, die ganze deutsche Literatur des 15. u. 16. Jahrhunderts steht stark im Banne der italienischen, und besonders sind es die Proaschöpfungen *Boccaccios*, welche Jahrhunderte lang nicht